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221 But the Mundurucu are cultivators and hunters. Their crude husbandry cannot provide them with plentiful resources. And hunting, even on those plains that teem with game, could never supply with regularity a large population center. As game becomes less abundant, the hunters are forced to wander ever farther to find it.

The need and taste for hunting, instead of bringing men together, tends on the contrary to isolate them increasingly, for isolation is the only means of avoiding competition in this sport upon which their very existence actually depends.

No other motive is to be sought for the dispersal of Mundurucu families during the summer months. As already mentioned above, I came upon some of those families in the course of my travels, living in huts in the midst of the woods or on the banks of the Cadereri.

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621
619 In spite of everything, however, the tribe remains strongly united although divided into twenty villages.

It is true that the villages own allegiance to no central government, either civil or religious; but the moral bonds which hold together all the villages and all the individual members of the tribe are so strong that they have withstood all divisive influences through the long history of the tribe. [113]

585 Among the Mundurucu, marriage consists of a simple agreement between the marriage partners and their families, and is not invested with any religious character or formulas.

584 Sometimes a Mundurucu is betrothed to a young girl through an agreement with her family, and thenceforth treats her as his future wife, supplying her with game and other means of subsistence until she reaches puberty and the marriage is consummated.

From the moment of the agreement, the betrothed girl is respected by all as such, and no one dares dispute her with the man destined to become her husband.

• [595] The marriage, once celebrated, constitutes a strong bond between the spouses. Polygamy is not practiced in this tribe, and scenes of jealousy are not infrequent.

562 The village women, though overburdened with work, are treated with a certain regard; they are not even permitted to enter the ekça or warriors' quarters.

- 726 distribute themselves in long lines and wait for the enemy to finish shooting his arrows. These arrows, in a display of great skill are caught in flight by the women who are stationed nearby, or the arrows are avoided by quick jumps. Only after this do they shoot their own arrows (which they do with great speed as they are handed them by their women) at a time when the enemy, fighting in closer ranks, has not much ammunition left. They attack only by day; and so they are attacked, by the equally war-like Araras, at night. In their permanent dwellings they protect themselves against this by a thoroughly military arrangement. In time of war all the men of military age sleep in a large, common hut distant from the women and [534] they are guarded by patrols who signal with the toré (beni), a rasping [202] cane trumpet, or with the kiohoa, a whistle. With this instrument the commander, who remains behind the fighting men, during a battle, gives his orders usually by having signals blown by two of his adjutants [392] simultaneously from horns of different lengths. In battle the
- 727 Mundurucu gives no quarter. As soon as he has felled his enemy with arrow or javelin he takes him by the hair and cuts through his neck muscles and spine with a short cane knife, doing it so skillfully that the head is quickly severed from the body. A head so taken becomes the subject of the victor's most careful attentions. As soon as he is back with his comrades they kindle a great many fires over which the skull, cleaned of brains, muscle, eyes and tongue, is dried on pegs. Every day the skull is repeatedly washed with water, drenched with oil in which rocou has been dissolved and placed in the sun. When it is dried hard the skull is equipped with an artificial brain of dyed cotton, with eyes of resin and with teeth and decorated with a feather hood. This revolting trophy is carried about by the victor on a string. When he is in the communal hut, it is placed in the sun or in the smoke in the daytime and at night is put up by his hammock like a sentinal. Enemies captured in surprise attacks are not killed but taken into the tribe.
- 595 A man has several wives according to his power and importance. He puts up his hammock in the section of the communal hut apportioned to him near the hammock of the elder wife who, though not necessarily his favorite, is the mistress of his household and often even brings younger [578] women to him. Jealousy and quarrels are the result of this polygamy [846] which is more thoroughly developed here than in other tribes. Just like the old Tupis and the Caribs the men here lie for several weeks in the

related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related," but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucu* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief. A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting.

¹[Martius (source No. 3) says this occurred before hand, in peace time. -- Analyst]

585 his game to the house of his bride and the products of his
591 garden went to the new household. He didn't even have to
596 move his hammock. Marriage was unstable especially in its
early years before children were born to the couple. However, separation frequently occurred even between couples with two or three children. In these cases, the man went back to his old village or house affiliation and the children stayed with the mother. The commonest causes of marital breakup were laziness or infidelity on the part of the wife, in which case the husband might simply gather his hammock, weapons, and personal belongings together and leave. The same reasons on the part of the husband might cause the girl's family to turn the husband out of the household. Her relative lack of mobility made it difficult for the female to take the initiative in these cases.

595 Polygamy was not commonly practiced among the
Mundurucu and the number of wives in such unions never ex-
ceeded two. It was generally confined to the chief of the
[622] village since the chief and his sons were exempt from the
rules of matrilocality. The sons of the chief remained
members of the father's household and their brides were in-
corporated into it. Usually the second wife was taken at
some considerable time after the first marriage and often
only when the first wife grew too old to fulfill her economic
functions. A situation akin to polygamy often existed when
a man took a new wife before taking his leave of the old
one. These episodes were usually stormy. There was fre-
quently bitter hostility between the two wives if they shared

595 the same residence or village. There is no evidence that polygamy was ordinarily sororal nor did the sororate and levirate have significant occurrence. None of these traits, so common in many primitive societies, was felt to be obligatory or even especially desirable.

684 Adultery was common and a frequent source of strife in the village. The men regarded their own adulterous escapades as highly diverting, harmless adventures. However, they did not take so lenient a view towards those of their wives. A husband whose wife was unfaithful usually beat her and verbally harangued her. No physical action was taken against the offending male, although an argument might ensue.

[586] When the wife became so promiscuous that she lowered her husband in the eyes of the community, he left her. The woman whose husband was unfaithful had little recourse except to fight with him and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself." If the husband's behavior became outrageous to the wife's family he might be invited to leave. The problems of sex caused few open ruptures in the Mundurucu village, but they were always a source of ill feeling.

614 The sib-moiety system

The Mundurucu social organization is rather complex for a Tupian group. They had thirty eight sibs divided into red and white moieties. The red moiety had sixteen sibs while the white had twentytwo. Of these thirty eight, eight are already extinct and my informants indicated that there were several more old sibs that they could no longer remember.

several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today. 000

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother. 174 621 [423] 586]

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243-244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucu, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict. 622]

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucu sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained. 619]

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucu social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949:216-17). A functional analysis of Mundurucu social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucu. 174 591]

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucu men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucu practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal 228] 595] 422 428]

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE

578 spouse who lived in Cabitutú was his first wife, and she
837 would not tolerate the second, a young girl of rather roving inclinations. Biboi's duties kept him in Cabitutú much of the time, but he was unable to bring his young wife there because of the disposition of the older one. This produced a dilemma, for the men of Cabruá, with but few exceptions, took great glee in fornicating with the girl during her husband's absences. Rumors of these happenings generally brought Biboi to the side of his errant mate, but his responsibilities soon drew him away again. And the men of Cabruá would again follow her into the underbrush. Their attraction to the young woman was, of course, primarily sexual, but most expressed their dual gratification in being able covertly to offend Biboi. The situation was reminiscent of a Mundurucú myth in which a man took revenge upon his hated brother by seducing his wife.¹⁷

595 Biboi's plural union is not a typical situation among the modern Mundurucú. Matrilocal residence makes polygyny most difficult, except of the sororal type, and no cases of the latter union were known by informants. It is, however, possible for chiefs and their sons, who can usually expect exemption from the matrilocal rule; chiefs were said by informants frequently to have had plural unions in former times. None, however, were known to have had more than two wives.

582 The only obligatory union among the Mundurucú is
616 with a person of the opposite moiety. Moiety exogamy is rigidly adhered to in the savannah villages, and no cases of intramoiety marriage existed at the time of our visit. Informants denied the existence of casual liaisons between persons of the same moiety, and I do not know of
835 any. Incest is looked upon as a serious offense against

¹⁷ Murphy, 1958.

village men are ever-watchful and jealous of the chiefly family and would be quick to resist, however passively, what they considered to be high-handedness. Biboi, however, did not have the surrounding group of relatives that may have given even minimal support to his claim to leadership. Rather, he depended upon the trader and his father and relatives in Cabrua to buttress his position. 622 554

Given his delicate status, Biboi proceeded to worsen it through a misinterpretation of the chieftaincy. He had listened to his father's nostalgic tales of the role of the chief in times past, and one might say that he had some knowledge, in a purely cognitive sense, of the traditional culture. It is highly dubious, however, that Biboi had internalized sufficient culture to make him an effective actor within the system of social relationships. Biboi knew that "in the old days, chiefs were powerful men who directed their people and bought goods for them." This view of the past may or may not have been true, but it surely did not apply to the present. Biboi, nonetheless, announced at large that he was eminently qualified to be chief, as only he knew how to deal with the trader and only he had the force to tell the people how, when and where to work. I was a special recipient of this information, for Biboi found it most important to gain stature in the eyes of a prestigious outsider. But Biboi also told all the others of his importance, and the people of Cabitutu stated that he indeed relayed the demands of the trader in forceful terms. His "followers" saw him solely as an agent of the trader in their village, and they were certain that his only function was to promote their exploitation and defraudment. Their analysis was correct, but I doubt that Biboi thought his role to be at all asocial. There is no evidence to substantiate this, for only he could tell me whether he was aware of the machinations of the trader, and he did not. But I believe that Biboi saw the trader as a father figure, many of whose values he had internalized and subscribed to as legitimate. And he also saw himself to be in the position of a strong and traditional leader. 177 78

Biboi had learned something else about the chiefs of times past, and this was the fact that many were polygynous. Polygyny was possible only for chiefs, for the matrilocality that applied to most of the population made it most difficult to have plural wives unless they were sisters. Even for a chief, however, polygyny was a difficult and stormy relationship, and it was evidently never of very great frequency.

Biboi did not have the implicit and unconscious ability to understand the fine points of Mundurucu social structure that a man raised in a village would have, and he made some of his most serious blunders in marriage. Soon after assuming the chieftaincy of Cabitutu, he married a woman of the village, a widow several years older than himself who, through the situational variability of post-marital residence, had a strong nucleus of kin in the village. Though I have no data upon which to make a firmer statement, it is quite probable that he married the woman--frankly a crone--in order to enlist the sympathies of her relatives. But Biboi was a young, handsome and virile man, and he subsequently sought a wife more to his liking. He located a pretty girl of about sixteen years in the village of Decodyem and brought her home to Cabitutu. This enraged the first wife, who berated Biboi, assaulted the girl and complained to her brothers. The latter expressed their disapproval of the polygynous union to Biboi, and the rest of the village supported them. Biboi's general behavior and his exercise of his "chieftaincy" had already outraged them, and this 575 578

395 offense against his first wife, a native daughter of the village, was beyond
 578 their endurance. Biboi refused to divorce the new wife, to whom he was greatly
 [622] attached, but took her to Cabruá where he left her in the care of his father.
 He validated his polygyny by pointing to the tradition that this was a prerogative of chiefs.

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183 This brings us through most of the key features of Mundurucu culture and
 577 social structure and to the point at which this paper began. And since this
 578 is in essence a tragic tale, we will see in this final section how the ring
 must inevitably close on Biboi. He had offended all the Mundurucu canons of
 taste and ethics and had become a source of strain in this small and tightly
 knit society. Now the forces of social control became operative and he felt
 the heavy pressure of his fellow men.

Having left his pretty bride in the safe confines of his father's house,
 Biboi returned to Cabitutu to set matters right and quiet the discontent. But
 he continued in his arrogant and demanding ways and the sentiments of the vil-
 lagers became further inflamed, with no small assistance from his first wife
 and her family. There grew among them a firm determination to kill him, and
 the intention might have been immediately carried out were it not for his ties
 in Cabruá. This was an important collective decision by the residents of
 Cabitutu, for his execution would set off a train of repercussions that would
 seriously disrupt their relations with Cabruá and with the trader. Moreover,
 [584] Biboi did not have shamanistic power and the usual post-hoc explanation for the
 [681] killing of a deviant--that he was a perpetrator of black magic--could not be
 used in his case. But his continued presence was even more disruptive, and
 Biboi's life was placed in serious jeopardy.

554 In the meantime, the person of the young wife was not as secure as Biboi
 684 thought it would be. Her husband was away and she was a rather wayward girl;
 whatever rectitude she possessed was certainly no match for the insistent
 attempts upon her body by the men of Cabruá. Soon, all of the men of the vil-
 lage except those prohibited by incest regulations--and there were some excep-
 tions even to this--were enjoying the favors of Biboi's young wife in the
 underbrush surrounding the village, at the stream, in the forest, in the gar-
 dens, or wherever they might find her alone. The enthusiasm of the men was
 understandable from her physical attractiveness, but there was another compo-
 nent to their attentions. Whenever they related their exploits to me, the men
 would express great satisfaction at what they were doing to Biboi, for the
 Cabruá men, too, disliked Biboi with some intensity. Even in his father's
 village, his presence threatened the smooth tenor of social relations, and he
 was considered unbearably deviant. But physical sanctions against Biboi would
 have been impossible in the village in which his father was a chief, and the
 men of Cabruá attacked his manhood instead. There could be no doubt about the
 aggressive character of their seductions, nor of its success in dealing a
 mortal blow to Biboi's prestige by reducing him to a helpless butt of laughter.

Biboi soon heard of the events in Cabruá from members of his family and
 immediately returned. He made frontal accusations against many of the men and
 even mentioned my Brazilian assistant (probably correctly) as being among those